

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 CAB-02 COME-00 DOTE-00 EB-08 FAA-00  
SY-05 MCT-01 /107 W  
-----091008 281616Z /53

R 280751Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7519  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMCONSUL MONTREAL  
USMISSION GENEVA  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
COMSEVENTHFLT  
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB JA  
MAC SCOTT AF BASE ILLINOIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 TOKYO 07555

ALSO DEPARTMENT PASS ALL ASIAN POSTS

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

MAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: EAIR, PINS, PINT, JA  
SUBJECT: STATE OF PLAY ON NARITA

REF: TOKYO 5532  
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SUMMARY: IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR IN FOUR WEEKS  
SINCE RADICAL ATTACK FORCED POSTPONEMENT OF NARITA AIRPORT  
OPENING (REFTEL) THAT LDP IN GENERAL, AND PRIME MINISTER  
FUKUDA IN PARTICULAR, ARE DETERMINED TO OPEN NARITA ON  
MAY 20 AS SCHEDULED. LDP LEADERS HOPE THAT ANTI-NARITA  
GROUPS WILL DISPERSE AFTER FLIGHT OPERATIONS BEGIN.

HOWEVER, OTHER SOURCES BELIEVE PORTION OF FARMERS OPPOSED TO AIRPORT WILL CONTINUE SEEKING TO BLOCK AIRPORT OPERATIONS. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO PRESS SOURCES, WHILE POLICE ARE CONFIDENT THEY CAN SECURE AREA IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING AIRPORT ITSELF, THEY CANNOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY OF SABOTAGE BY RADICAL STUDENTS OF FUEL LINES OR BLOCKAGE OF TRANSPORTATION ROUTES BETWEEN TOKYO AND NARITA. SO FAR, FUKUDA SEEMS TO HAVE HANDLED POLITICAL ASPECTS OF NARITA ISSUE DEFTLY, BUT HIS COMMITMENT TO OPENING AIRPORT UNDER NEW TIMETABLE PLACES HIM IN EXPOSED POSITION: SHOULD VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS AT NARITA OR OTHER OPPOSITION GROUP ACTIVITIES AGAIN FORCE POSTPONEMENT, FUKUDA AND LDP WILL FACE SEVERE POLITICAL TEST. END SUMMARY.

1. IN FOUR WEEKS SINCE RADICAL ATTACK ON CONTROL TOWER FORCED GOJ TO POSTPONE OPENING OF NEW INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AT NARITA (REFTEL), LDP IN GENERAL, AND PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA IN PARTICULAR, HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY DETERMINED TO OPEN NEW AIRPORT ON MAY 20 AND BEGIN FLIGHT OPERATIONS IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER. ALTHOUGH POOR JUDGMENTS OVER PAST TWELVE YEARS WHICH HAVE LED TO CURRENT IMPASSE AT NARITA CANNOT BE LAID SOLELY AT FUKUDA'S DOOR, CONSENSUS SEEMS TO BE THAT FUKUDA HIMSELF MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FROM HERE ON OUT FOR AIRPORT POLICIES. MOREOVER, PRIMIN IS UNDER SPECIAL PRESSURE FROM HARD-LINERS WITHIN LDP, WHO SEE NARITA AS IMPORTANT TEST OF GOJ'S ABILITY TO MAINTAIN LAW

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AND ORDER, AND MUCH OF BODY POLITIC APPEARS TO AGREE. ANY FURTHER DELAYS IN AIRPORT OPENING MAY WELL BE REGARDED AS FAILURE OF "LEADERSHIP," SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF PRIMIN'S PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY HAVING NOW BEEN TIED TO OPENING ON SCHEDULE.

2. ONE OF MAJOR JUSTIFICATIONS FOR LDP LEADERS' INSISTENCE ON MOVING AHEAD DESPITE CONTINUED OPPOSITION OF RADICAL GROUPS AND FARMERS IN NARITA AREA HAS BEEN BELIEF THAT OPPOSITION MOVEMENT WILL DISINTEGRATE FOLLOWING COMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS. THEY POINT TO COLLAPSE OF PAST OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS AIMED AT MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY AND OKINAWA REVERSION AGREEMENT AS EXAMPLES OF INABILITY OF EXTREMIST GROUPS TO RALLY THEIR FORCES WHEN PRESENTED WITH FAIT ACCOMPLI. SENIOR LDP DIETMAN WITH LONGTIME INVOLVEMENT IN LDP PLANNING FOR NARITA TOLD EMBOFF THAT MANY OF

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED ALL ASIAN POSTS.

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-----090978 281617Z /53

R 280751Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
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18 FAMILIES WHO OWNED LAND SLATED TO BECOME NARITA  
AIRPORT'S SECOND AND THIRD RUNWAYS, WHICH HAS SERVED AS  
MAIN STAGING GROUNDS FOR OPPOSITION GROUP ACTIVITIES,  
WOULD QUIT OPPOSITION MOVEMENT AND AGREE TO SELL THEIR  
LAND TO GOJ ONCE AIRPORT HAD ACTUALLY BEEN OPENED.  
ACCORDING TO DIETMAN, MOST OF HOLDOUT FARMERS WERE NOT  
REALLY RADICALS, BUT HAD BEEN CAUGHT UP IN VIOLENT TACTICS  
INTRODUCED BY OUTSIDE RADICAL GROUPS. THESE LOCAL FARMERS  
FEARED RETALIATION OF RADICAL PARTNERS SHOULD THEY "SELL  
OUT" BEFORE AIRPORT OPENED, BUT AFTER OPERATIONS COMMENCED,  
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FARMERS WOULD BE ABLE TO CLAIM FURTHER PROTEST WOULD BE  
USELESS AND WOULD PROCEED TO DEAL WITH GOJ.

3. HOWEVER, OTHER OBSERVERS IN AND OUTSIDE OF LDP REGARD THIS VIEW AS TOO OPTIMISTIC. ACCORDING TO PRESS SOURCES CLAIMING GOOD CONTACT WITH OPPOSITION TO AIRPORT, REMAINING 18 FAMILIES HAVE SO FAR REFUSED TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOJ UNLESS THREE CONDITIONS ARE MET:

(1) PLANS TO OPEN AIRPORT ON MAY 20 ARE CANCELLED; (2) RADICAL STUDENTS ARRESTED DURING MARCH 26 RIOTS AT AIRPORT ARE RELEASED; AND (3) AGREEMENT IS REACHED IN PRINCIPLE TO REMOVE AIRPORT FACILITIES AND RETURN AIRPORT LAND TO FARMERS. FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, GOJ HAS FOUND ALL THREE CONDITIONS UNACCEPTABLE, AND WHILE VARIOUS INTERMEDIARIES, INCLUDING ASAHI AND YOMIURI NEWSPAPER COMPANIES, ARE WORKING QUIETLY TO GET TWO SIDES TO SIT DOWN TOGETHER TO DISCUSS ISSUE, THEY HAVE SO FAR HAD NO SUCCESS. PART OF PROBLEM, ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER SOURCES, HAS BEEN THAT MANY HOLDOUT FARMERS BELIEVE FUKUDA IS POLITICALLY UNABLE TO REACH COMPROMISE SATISFACTORY TO THEM AT THIS TIME. MOREOVER, THERE IS LITTLE PROSPECT THAT THE MOST EXTREME ELEMENTS AMONG FARMERS, INCLUDING OPPOSITION ALLIANCE LEADER TOMURA, WILL MODIFY THEIR INSISTENCE ON GOJ'S UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER TO THREE CONDITIONS ABOVE.

4. IN ADDITION TO PROBLEM OF 18 FAMILIES ON AIRPORT EXTENSION SITE ITSELF, MUCH LARGER NUMBER OF FAMILIES LIVING WITHIN RANGE OF NARITA JET NOISE HAVE YET TO BE HEARD FROM. ONE OF JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY DIETMEN FROM NARITA AREA TOLD EMBOFF THAT WHEN JET OPERATIONS COMMENCED AND NOISE LEVELS INCREASED, THOSE AREA RESIDENTS WOULD SWELL PROTEST MOVEMENT.

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5. FINALLY, AND MOST SERIOUSLY, MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT FARMERS DO, RADICAL GROUPS WILL CONTINUE THEIR OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN EVEN AFTER AIRPORT OPENS, BECAUSE NARITA REPRESENTS ONLY MAJOR ISSUE ON HORIZON FOR JAPANESE RADICAL MOVEMENT AS WHOLE. IN PAST, THEY NOTE, RADICAL GROUPS COULD ALWAYS FIND NEW ISSUE AROUND WHICH TO COALESCE. BUT TODAY THERE IS NO OTHER ISSUE CAPABLE OF ATTRACTING SAME LEVEL OF COMMITMENT AS NARITA. AS RESULT, EVEN SHOULD RADICALS LOSE THEIR BASE OF OPERATIONS ON FARM LAND DIRECTLY OUTSIDE AIRPORT, IT IS BELIEVED SOME ELEMENTS WILL ATTEMPT DEMONSTRATIONS, AND POSSIBLY GUERRILLA-STYLE OPERATIONS, AIMED AT DISRUPTING FUEL SUPPLY LINES OR TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION LINKS BETWEEN TOKYO AND NEW AIRPORT. POLICE, ACCORDING TO PRESS SOURCES, ARE TROUBLED BY PROSPECT OF HAVING TO DEFEND AGAINST SUCH HARRASSMENT OUTSIDE AREA IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING AIRPORT. MOREOVER, SOME JOURNALISTS WORRY THAT RADICAL GROUPS, PERHAPS EVEN UNITS OF JAPANESE RED ARMY

ABROAD, MIGHT ATTEMPT AIRPLANE HIJACKS (HERE O ABROAD) IN  
EFFORT TO FREE RADICALS ARRESTED DURING MARCH 26 RIOTS AT  
NARITA.

6. TO HELP POLICE CONTROL PROTEST GROUPS AT AIRPORT, LDP  
HAS BEEN STUDYING LEGAL MEASURES TO EXPAND POLICE POWERS  
SO THAT RADICAL GROUPS CAN BE DISPERSED BEFORE THEY STRIKE.  
HAWKS WITHIN LDP WOULD LIKE TO USE NARITA PROBLEMS AS  
EXCUSE FOR OMNIBUS BILL TO CRACK DOWN ON RADICAL GROUPS  
NOT ONLY AT NARITA, BUT ALSO AT CONSTRUCTIONSITES FOR  
NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS, AND OTHER GOVERNMENT PROJECTS.  
HOWEVER, SUCH MEASURES RAISE SPECTER FOR MANY JAPANESE  
OF PRE-WAR POLICE-STATE POLICIES, AND FUKUDA AND LDP SEC GEN  
OHIRA HAVE REFUSED TO SANCTION SUCH EXTREME PROPOSALS.  
AT PRESENT, LDP IS NEGOTIATING WITH NEW LIBERAL CLUB, DEMO-  
CRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY AND CLEAN GOVERNMENT PARTY, WITH  
AIM OF INTRODUCING SUPER-PARTISAN BILL WHICH WOULD EMPOWER

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R 280751Z APR 78  
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POLICE TO ENTER PRIVATE PROPERTY IN NARITA AREA TO CHECK RADICAL ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY CONSTRUCTION OF TOWERS AND OTHER OBSTACLES TO FLIGHT OPERATIONS, BEFORE ACTUAL CRIMES ARE COMMITTED. ALTHOUGH JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY AND JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY OPPOSE SUCH LEGISLATION AS INFRINGEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, IF LDP REFRAINS FROM TOO SWEEPING EXPANSION OF POLICE POWERS, THEY WILL RECEIVE CENTRIST BACKING AND MAY EVEN BE ABLE TO PASS LIMITED SECURITY MEASURES BEFORE MAY 20 NARITA OPENING.

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7. MEDIA HAVE BEEN UNCOMMONLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST THREE WEEKS IN APPARENTLY DECLARING MORATORIUM ON SENSATIONAL TREATMENT OF NARITA THAT FOLLOWED LAST MONTH'S FRACAS. WHETHER AS RESULT OF EXPLICIT OR IMPLICIT UNDERSTANDING, WE HAVE IMPRESSION THEY ARE WILLING TO GIVE GOVERNMENT CHANCE TO WORK OUT WHAT IT CAN BEHIND THE SCENE.

8. SO FAR, PRIMIN FUKUDA SEEMS TO HAVE HANDLED NARITA PROBLEM WITH FIRM AND DEFT HAND, RESISTING OVERREACTION URGED BY HIS PARTY'S RIGHT-WING WHILE PRESERVING COMMITMENT TO OPEN AIRPORT ON SCHEDULE. ALTHOUGH GOJ OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN WIDELY CRITICIZED BY PUBLIC FOR DECISIONS OVER LAST TWELVE YEARS WHICH LED UP TO CURRENT CRISIS AT NARITA, MAJOR FOCUS OF ANGER HAS BEEN RADICAL GROUPS WHICH ADOPTED VIOLENT TACTICS. AS RESULT, BOTH LDP AND TRANSPORTATION MINISTRY SOURCES HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT NO CABINET-LEVEL OFFICERS WOULD BE ASKED TO RESIGN TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR POSTPONEMENT OF AIRPORT OPENING, ALTHOUGH NATIONAL POLICE AGENCY CHIEF ASANUMA HAS ANNOUNCED HIS RESIGNATION EFFECTIVE MAY 20 AND RESIGNATIONS OF OTHER OFFICERS DIRECTLY IN CHARGE OF NARITA SECURITY MAY TAKE PLACE AFTER AIRPORT OPENS. YET, WHILE POLITICAL DAMAGES TO FUKUDA CABINET HAS BEEN LIMITED SO FAR, PRIMIN IS NOW, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, PRISONER OF EVENTS: SHOULD NEW DEMONSTRATIONS AT AIRPORT OR OTHER OPPOSITION GROUP ACTIVITIES FORCE SECOND POSTPONEMENT, FUKUDA AND LDP WILL FACE SEVERE POLITICAL TEST. SHERMAN

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## Message Attributes

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